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ABSTRACT

As part of a series dealing with various aspects of racial distribution in San Francisco schools, this memorandum presents information on the social, economic, and legal settings within which San Francisco's desegregation efforts are taking place. An overview of equality of educational opportunity is given to illustrate the relationship between differential educational attainment and the social and economic gap between whites and nonwhites. Specific aspects of this relationship referred to include teenage unemployment, improved income potential through education, and the public benefits of improved income potential. The report then analyzes racial imbalance in San Francisco schools in terms of residential segregation, population shifts, and disparities between cities and suburbs. In describing methods for narrowing the educational gap between whites and nonwhites, such factors as compensatory education, racially balanced schools, racial composition and student achievement, racial balance and quality of education, and the importance of compensatory education in racially balanced schools are considered. A report on the legal background of de facto segregation is also included. (EB)

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April 21, 1967

Research Memorandum No. 3

DIMENSIONS OF EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

Prepared for:

SAN FRANCISCO UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT

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FOREWORD

In September 1966, the San Francisco Unified School District contracted with Stanford Research Institute to study alternative means by which racial imbalance in San Francisco's public schools might be diminished. The following Research Memorandum is one of a series in which the Institute is presenting its findings.

The objectives of the study provide that the Institute form and evaluate several alternative patterns of pupil attendance that, if adopted, will result in the racial composition of individual schools more nearly reflecting the citywide racial distribution. The Institute also will evaluate the cost-effectiveness of the alternatives.

This memorandum presents information on the social, economic, and legal settings within which San Francisco's school desegregation efforts are taking place. It endeavors to interpret a rapidly increasing literature for San Franciscans and focus it on what Francis Keppel has called "the necessary revolution in American education."

The author is Judith B. Spellman. William J. Platt is project leader.

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SUMMARY

Differential educational attainment has resulted in an educational gap between socioeconomic groups and between racial groups. Related to this educational gap is a social and economic disparity between whites and nonwhites that is reflected in income, unemployment, occupation, and social status. Especially relevant for the schools are the problems that nonwhite youth faces in the labor market. Those teenagers who either drop out of school or reach only low levels of achievement are vulnerable to high rates of unemployment and low incomes. Evidence indicates that:

- Improved achievement in school reduces the probability that a student will drop out of school.

- Higher levels of achievement are related to improved income potential.

Methods for narrowing educational differentials have developed in two major veins: improved educational offerings through compensatory education and improved racial balance in all schools. Both approaches require additional resources and proportionately more resources directed to minority group children.

Findings show that progress in achievement and motivation of minority group students is associated with their having classmates who are achievement-oriented. Specifically,

- A favorable balance in the socioeconomic and racial composition of the classroom appears to account for a greater improvement in the average achievement of nonwhite students than do facilities, curricula, or teachers.

- Variation in class racial composition does not appear to affect the academic performance of white children.

Realization of the benefits of racially heterogeneous classrooms will require reducing de facto segregation in the schools in San Francisco. The constitutionality of de facto segregation is not clear, but there have been clear legal and policy decisions in California. The California Administrative Code, Title 5, Section 2010, states:

> It is the declared policy of the State Board of Education that persons or agencies responsible for the establishment of school attendance centers or the assignment of pupils thereto shall exert all effort to avoid and eliminate segregation of children on account of race or color.

Narrowing the educational gap would bring many social and economic benefits to San Francisco: an increased contribution to the tax base, a reduction in expenditures for social dependency, and a more concerned group of residents contributing to the city's cultural enrichment.

OVERVIEW OF EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

The Goal of American Education

Francis Keppel calls the first revolution in American education, that of quantity of education, an attempt to provide everyone with an education. The second revolution, equality of opportunity, strives to provide not only an education for everyone but to transmit the values of a democratic society by making access to the best that education has to offer equal for all.*

The Educational Gap

A goal of American education is focused on equality of access because there are indications that all children are not receiving an equal opportunity for education. There is an educational gap between socioeconomic groups and between racial groups. The gap is evident in differential educational attainment as measured by years of school completed and results of achievement tests.

Between 1950 and 1960, Negroes showed the greatest relative increase among those attaining a high school education or more, as Table 1 indicates. Yet, in 1960 Negroes had the lowest median years of schooling of the races shown, with 8.6 years.† The median years of school completed for whites were 11.0 and were slightly higher for both Japanese and Chinese.

In addition to years of school completed, the educational gap can be shown by academic achievement in school. The average Negro student and the average white student begin school with noticeable differences in verbal ability, and these differences widen as they progress through the grades.‡ At sixth grade, the average Negro student is about one and one-half grade levels behind the average white student in verbal achievement. By the time the 12th grade is reached, the average white student

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* See Francis Keppel, The Necessary Revolution in American Education, Harper & Row, New York and London, 1966, pp. 1-2.

† Of all groups reported, American Indians had the lowest median years of schooling with 8.4 years in 1960.

‡ A discussion of the average Negro student does not take into account differences between middle class and low income Negroes. Data show that, because of the disproportionate number of Negroes at the lower end of the income distribution, the average score on most variables is affected negatively.

Table 1

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT BY RACE
1950 and 1960

Years of School Completed	Negro		Japanese		Chinese		White	
	1950	1960	1950	1960	1950	1960	1950	1960
Percent of each group completing:								
8 years or less	69%	55%	27%	26%	52%	40%	42%	35%
Some high school	18	24	15	18	14	14	21	23
4 years of high school	9	14	40	36	17	19	23	26
Some college	3	4	11	11	9	12	8	9
4 years or more of college	2	3	7	9	9	15	6	7
Median years of school completed	7.3	8.6	12.2	12.2	8.8	11.1	10.1	11.0

Sources: 1960 Census of Population, Detailed Characteristics, U.S. Summary; and Special Reports, Nonwhite Population by Race. 1950 Census of Population, Special Reports Vol. IV, Education, and Nonwhite Population by Race.

performs at or slightly below the 12th grade level, whereas the average Negro student performs below the 9th grade level.*

Table 2 shows achievement scores on a nationwide test of reading, writing, calculating, and problem solving. These tests do not measure intelligence; they measure "the skills which are among the most important in our society for getting a good job and moving up to a better one, and for full participation in an increasingly technical world."†

* See James S. Coleman, Equality of Educational Opportunity, a study required in Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and conducted by the U.S. Office of Education, 1966, p. 20.

† See Coleman, op. cit., p. 20.

Table 2

NATIONWIDE MEDIAN TEST SCORES
1st and 12th Grade Pupils by Race and Ethnic Group
1965

Test	Negro	Oriental	Mexican-American	Other White
1st grade				
Nonverbal	43.4	56.6	50.1	54.1
Verbal	45.4	51.6	46.5	53.2
12th grade				
Nonverbal	40.9	51.6	45.0	52.0
Verbal	40.9	49.6	43.8	52.1
Reading	42.2	48.8	44.2	51.9
Mathematics	41.8	51.3	45.5	51.8
General information	40.6	49.0	43.3	52.2
Average of 5 tests	41.1	50.1	44.4	52.0

Source: Coleman, James S., Equality of Educational Opportunity, U.S. Office of Education, 1966, p. 20.

With some exceptions, notably Oriental-Americans, the average minority pupil scores were distinctly lower on these tests at every level than the average white pupil scores.

The Social and Economic Gap

Differential educational attainment is related to the social and economic gap between whites and nonwhites. To some extent the relationship between education and income may be the result of other variables affecting both education and income, and differentials in education do not completely account for differences in income. Nevertheless, education is an important factor affecting income. Also, educational attainment is reflected in a number of concomitant variables such as unemployment rates, wage levels, and economic dependency.

Income

Table 3 illustrates the positive relationship between educational attainment and income within both the white and nonwhite groups, and it

is clear that those with more education are better off. The table also shows differential earnings of nonwhites reflecting special problems such as discrimination: Nonwhites with four years of college on the average have lifetime earnings lower than whites with only an eighth grade education.

Table 3

EDUCATION AND DIFFERENTIAL LIFETIME EARNINGS BY COLOR*

Level of Education	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite as Percent of White
Elementary school			
Less than 8 years	$ 95,000	$157,000	61%
8 years	123,000	191,000	64
High school			
1 to 3 years	132,000	221,000	60
4 years	151,000	253,000	60
College			
1 to 3 years	162,000	301,000	54
4 years	185,000	395,000	47
5 years or more	246,000	466,000	53

* For men aged 18 to 64.

Source: Derived from 1960 Census data. See U.S. Senate, 88th Congress, 1st Session, Hearings before the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare on Bills Relating to Equal Employment Opportunities, July and August 1963.

The absolute improvement over time in the economic position of nonwhites has not been as significant as it has been for whites. The median family income of nonwhites has risen from $1,614 in 1947 to $3,839 in 1964. But during this same period median family income for whites rose from $3,157 to $6,858 widening the gap from less than $1,600 in 1947 to more than $3,000 in 1964.*

* See U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, "The Negroes in the United States, Their Economic and Social Situation," Bulletin No. 1511, June 1966, p. 138.

Employment

The occupational distribution for nonwhites also has improved in absolute terms. However, even by 1965, less than half as many nonwhites as whites were employed in white collar occupations. The proportion of the total Negro labor force in white collar occupations increased by one-third, to 11 percent, between 1950 and 1960. For whites, however, 33 percent were in white collar jobs in 1950, three times the percentage attained by Negroes 10 years later.* Table 4 shows the occupational distribution in 1965.

Table 4

EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION FOR
NONWHITE AND WHITE WORKERS
1965

	Nonwhite	White
Total employment*	100%	100%
White collar workers	19.5	47.5
Blue collar workers	40.7	36.2
Service workers	31.7	10.7
Farm workers	8.1	5.6

* Percent of total civilian employment by race.

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 1511, p. 107.

Unemployment

Unemployment rates are higher for all nonwhites but the rate for nonwhite teenagers is particularly striking at 25.3 percent (see Table 5).

* See U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, op. cit., p. 112.

Table 5

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES FOR NONWHITE AND WHITE WORKERS
1965

Unemployment Rates*	Nonwhite	White
Adult males	6.0%	2.9%
Adult females	7.4	4.0
Teenagers	25.3	12.2
Total, 14 years and over	8.3	4.1

* Percent of civilian labor force.

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 1511, p. 82.

The Negro group suffers more unemployment than other nonwhite groups. In 1960, for example, Negroes had an unemployment rate of 8.8 percent, whereas Japanese had a rate of 2.8 percent and Chinese had a rate of 3.9 percent, both below the 4.7 percent white unemployment rate.*

Teenage Unemployment

The high unemployment rate of nonwhite teenagers indicates the problems that nonwhite youths face in the labor market. These difficulties are related to educational attainment, discrimination, and social skills necessary for obtaining a good job.

The unemployment rate, however, provides only a partial description of the labor market problems of nonwhite teenagers. Unemployment rates are a measure of the number of persons without jobs who are looking for work. Very little is known about those persons without jobs who are not looking for work. These individuals are categorized as "out of the labor force." The labor force participation rates among nonwhite male teenagers have decreased from 59.2 percent in 1949 to 39.1 percent in 1965.† This decrease can be explained in part by the increase in school enrollments but it may also reflect difficulty in finding jobs. The California State Employment Service has analyzed the low labor force participation rates among nonwhite teenagers in the San Francisco-Oakland areas as

* See U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, op. cit., p. 112.
† See U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, op. cit., p. 99.

follows: "The lower participation rate of nonwhite workers in the younger age groups is undoubtedly a reflection of the greater difficulty these young people have in securing employment, since many of the industries which usually employ younger workers, employ very few nonwhite workers."*

Also, nonwhite youth is most severely affected by the changing structure of the labor market. Over the past 50 years, because of increased technological advancements the proportion of white collar jobs has increased from 22 percent in 1910 to 42 percent in 1959, and at the same time the proportion of unskilled blue collar jobs has decreased from 11 percent in 1910 to 6 percent in 1959. The U.S. Department of Labor has projected that these trends will continue, and that by 1970 unskilled jobs will have declined to 5 percent and white collar jobs will have increased to 45 percent. Thus, the occupations that require higher educational attainment represent the growth areas of the past few decades and of the future.†

A fast growing industry, the service industry, has many job opportunities that do not require higher education but do require special skill in presenting oneself favorably to a middle class public.

Improved Income Potential Through Education

The relationship between education and income, and between education and other concomitant variables such as employment, indicates that individuals with higher levels of education tend to have higher incomes, and conversely, lower levels of education are associated with lower incomes (Table 3).

School dropouts are vulnerable to unemployment and low income. Between 1949 and 1959 unemployment increased in every age group for those with less than a high school education, and decreased for those above that level.‡

Evidence indicates that improved achievement in school will reduce dropouts.§ Also, higher levels of achievement are related to improved income potential.

The highest rate of unemployment is found among nonwhite teenagers (Table 5). This group also has a sizable dropout rate. The Urban League

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* See California State Employment Service, "Economic Status of Negroes in the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Area," May 1963.

† See Eli Ginsberg, The Nation's Children, Vol. 2, Columbia University Press, New York, 1965.

‡ See Charles Killingsworth, "The Automation Story," Jobs, Men and Machines, Charles Markham, ed., Prager, New York, 1964, p. 38.

§ See Alvin L. Bertrand, "School Attendance and Attainment," Social Forces, Vol. 60, No. 3, March 1962.

reports that in Los Angeles, which had the lowest percentage of Negro dropouts in cities, the rate was still 55 percent.*

Thus, the task that schools, parents, and other institutions share is twofold. On the one hand, it is to lower the dropout rate by keeping potential dropouts in school and, on the other hand, it is to raise the achievement levels of racial and ethnic minority groups through improved quality of educational offerings. There is disagreement about the means of improving the quality of education, and "whether this goal can or should be achieved within the confines of racially isolated school systems."†

Public Benefits of Improved Income Potential

All members of a community enjoy the benefits of equal educational opportunity. The society at large profits, and there are indications that these gains may be considerable, both in monetary and nonmonetary terms. Generally, new programs undertaken to produce the benefits of increased educational opportunity have been justified on the grounds of fulfillment of the "American Dream." But the reasoning may be framed more pragmatically in economic terms:

> If nonwhites received the same average pay as whites having the same education, the personal income of nonwhites and of the Nation would be $12.8 billion higher.
>
> If nonwhites also had the same educational attainments as white workers, and earned the same pay and experienced the same unemployment rates as whites, their personal income--and that of the nation--would be $20.6 billion higher.
>
> The entire economy would benefit from better education of nonwhite workers and an end to job discrimination. Industry would earn additional profits. The total Gross National Product would rise by an estimated $23 billion, or an extra 3.7 percent.‡

Prof. Burton Weisbrod of Princeton University has summarized some of the benefits of education:

> The real 'benefits' of education are the real 'costs' of non-education. . . . More or better education . . . would be likely to reduce police, judicial, and other costs of

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* See Michael Harrington, "The Economics of Protest," Employment, Race and Poverty, Ross and Hill, eds., Harcourt, Brace and World Inc., New York, 1967, p. 248.

† See U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, op. cit., p. ix.

‡ Statement released by President's Council of Economic Advisors, March 25, 1965.

crime, delinquency, and law enforcement to the extent that the latter is related to insufficient or poor quality education. Inadequate education is associated with high unemployment and low income, and these are likely to encourage crime. It would be erroneous to attribute to inadequate education all of the differential unemployment and income of the poorly educated. It would be equally erroneous to attribute all crime to low income. Nevertheless, insofar as low income brings added crime, certain real social costs result from lack of education.*

As educational attainment increases, another public cost--public assistance, or welfare--is likely to be reduced. A 1960 study of aid to dependent children in California showed that 33 out of 100 mothers had only grade school education; 42 had some high school; 20 were high school graduates; 3 had some college; one was a college graduate; and one had no schooling at all. Attempts of welfare departments in the Bay Area to restore welfare recipients to independent living have also revealed the limited education of most recipients. The Santa Clara County Welfare Department found, for example, that 78 percent of the persons on work relief in the spring of 1962 had below tenth grade education, and 28 percent below fifth grade. Almost half those over 40 years old were in the below fifth grade group.†

Improving the educational attainment of this generation will produce an added benefit resulting from "intergeneration effects." The children of educated people tend to attain at least the same educational level of their parents. Thus instead of the current vicious cycle of poverty, it is possible to foster an upward spiral with increasing returns to the individual and to society generation by generation.‡

Other social and economic benefits would accrue to the city from increased educational attainment of its residents. Some of them would be improvement in public health, improvement of slum conditions, reduction of tension and unrest in ghetto areas and a more involved group contributing to the community's cultural enrichment.

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* See Burton A. Weisbrod, External Benefits of Public Education, Princeton University, Princeton, 1964, p. 80.

† See Margaret Greenfield, "Social Dependency in the San Francisco Bay Area," The San Francisco Bay Area: Its Problems and Future, Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, 1966, p. 14.

‡ See Thomas I. Ribich, Education and Poverty, The Brookings Institution, September 1966, IV-2.

RACIAL IMBALANCE IN THE SAN FRANCISCO SCHOOLS

Racial Composition of San Francisco Public Schools

The San Francisco public schools are composed of four major groups: Negro, Oriental, Spanish Speaking, and All Others (white minus Spanish Speaking). Table 6 shows that the three minority groups constitute 56 percent of the school population and the All Other category constitutes 44 percent.

Table 6

RACIAL AND ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF SAN FRANCISCO PUBLIC SCHOOLS
1966

	Negro		Oriental		Spanish Speaking		All Other	
Division	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent
Elementary	14,633	29.2%	8,054	16.0%	6,561	13.1%	20,948	41.7%
Junior high	5,393	25.8	3,601	17.3	2,549	12.2	9,359	44.8
Senior high	4,025	19.9	4,404	21.8	1,979	9.8	9,855	48.6
Total	24,051	26.3%	16,057	17.6%	11,089	12.1%	40,162	44.0%

Source: Selected Data for Study in the Challenge to Effect a Better Racial Balance in the San Francisco Public Schools, S.F. Unified School District, September 1966.

Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Schools

The clustering of minority groups in segregated residential areas together with the traditional concept of the neighborhood school produces de facto segregated schools. Table 7 indicates the extent to which students in San Francisco attend racially imbalanced or de facto segregated schools. The most segregated is the Negro group: 71 percent of Negro students attend majority Negro schools, and 28 percent attend schools that are 90 to 100 percent Negro.

Table 7

EXTENT OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL SEGREGATION IN SAN FRANCISCO
1966

Racial or Ethnic Group	Percentage of Students in Schools Composed Predominantly of Their Own Racial or Ethnic Group	
	In Schools 50-100% Own Group	In Schools 90-100% Own Group
Negro	70.6%	27.9%
Oriental*	46.2	27.2
Spanish speaking	18.0	--
All other	70.0	--

* Oriental includes Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino. The Chinese group is the largest, and all schools in the 90 to 100 percent group are at least 90 percent Chinese.

Source: Selected Data for Study in the Challenge to Effect a Better Racial Balance in the San Francisco Public Schools, S.F. Unified School District, September 1966.

De facto school segregation is aggravated by other factors, such as the enrollment of white pupils in nonpublic schools, the movement of white families out of the city to the suburbs, the method of drawing attendance boundaries, and the lower average age of nonwhite families in cities. The result is an increase in the number of nonwhite children in school. In San Francisco, 40 percent of the public school children were nonwhite in 1964,* while only 21 percent of the total population were nonwhite.†

Ironically, as de jure segregation of schools slowly recedes, de facto segregation rapidly increases. In literally every standard metropolitan area in the United States, racial segregation of housing increased from 1940 to 1960.‡ Consequently the ever-growing Negro ghettos combine

* See Selected Data for Study in the Challenge to Effect a Better Racial Balance in the San Francisco Public Schools, S.F. Unified School District, September 1966.

† See A Preliminary Estimate of Population by Age, Sex and Color for San Francisco, 1964, San Francisco Department of City Planning, August 16, 1966.

‡ See Karl E. Taeuber and Alma E. Taeuber, Negroes in Cities, Aldene Publishing Co., Chicago, 1965.

with the neighborhood school principle to establish an increasingly entrenched pattern of racially separate education throughout the urban North and South. Table 8 shows that de facto segregation has increased among Negroes in San Francisco between 1962 and 1966.

Table 8

NEGRO STUDENTS IN 90-100 PERCENT NEGRO SCHOOLS
AND MAJORITY NEGRO SCHOOLS IN SAN FRANCISCO
1962-1966

Year	Number in 90-100% Negro Schools	Percentage of Total Negro Enrollment	Number in Majority Negro Schools*	Percentage of Total Negro Enrollment
1962	1,579	11.6%	10,334	75.8%
1965	3,031	21.1	10,369	72.3
1966	4,086	27.9	10,327	70.6

* Includes students in 90 to 100 percent Negro schools.

Sources: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, op. cit., p. 9. Selected Data for Study in the Challenge to Effect a Better Racial Balance in the San Francisco Public Schools, S.F. Unified School District, September 1966.

Population Shifts

San Francisco has, as have most major cities of the North and West, experienced changes in the racial and ethnic composition of the population: The middle class white families of childbearing age have been moving from the central cities to suburban areas, while nonwhite families of childbearing age have been increasing. These shifts contribute to de facto segregated schools and to the educational gap. Table 9 shows a 24.6 percent decrease in whites aged 20 to 40 years in the central cities and a 24.2 percent increase of the same group in the suburbs. Since 1950 the population gain for suburban whites has been highest for children of school age.

Table 9

NET CHANGE IN WHITE POPULATION IN 23 LARGEST METROPOLITAN AREAS, BY AGE 1950-60

Age	Net Change 1950 to 1960	
	Central City	Suburbs
0-19 years	+17.0	+86.4
20-40 years	-24.6	+24.2
41-60 years	-6.4	+27.2
61 years and over	-2.2	+44.2
Total	-2.2	+44.2

Source: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, op. cit., p. 18. Data compiled from U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1950 and 1960 Censuses of Population.

In San Francisco, the white population decreased 12.9 percent between 1950 and 1960. At the same time, the nonwhite population increased 66.8 percent.* This increase is related to the movement of Negroes from the rural South to the urban North and West and to the migration of Orientals, predominantly from Hong Kong.

Disparities Between Cities and Suburbs

Accompanying the increasing separation in residential patterns of white and nonwhite adults of child-bearing age are disparities in personal income and educational attainment between central cities and suburbs. In metropolitan areas of 500,000 or more, 100 percent of the cities in 1960 had suburbs with median family income and educational attainment higher than that of the central city.†

Also, central cities have more families in poverty‡ and fewer families with incomes over $10,000 a year than suburbs. For every 25 persons in the suburbs with less than a high school education, there are 30 in the

* See 1950 Census of Population and 1960 Census of Population.
† See U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, op. cit., p. 19.
‡ Defined as an annual income of $3,000 for a family of four.

cities, and for every 25 persons in the cities with a college education, there are 30 in the suburbs.*

Almost all the affluent and well-educated people who are settling in the suburbs are white. As a result, suburban school districts are acquiring an increasing number of white children from these families. Left behind in the city school districts are minority group children--many of whom are from families of relatively low income and educational attainment.†

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* See U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, op. cit., p. 19. Data for the 23 largest metropolitan areas, compiled from U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1960 Census of Population, Pc (3), Vol. 3.

† See U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, op. cit., p. 20.

NARROWING THE EDUCATIONAL GAP

Methods for attacking the educational differential between whites and nonwhites have developed in two major veins: improvement of educational offerings through compensatory education and improvement of racial balance in all schools. Both approaches require additional resources, and specifically, proportionately more resources directed to minority group children.

Compensatory Education

Compensatory education programs are under way in depressed areas throughout the country with funds predominantly from Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. In San Francisco, 47 schools are using compensatory education funds of some kind, and 39 are using funds from Title I.*

Another type of compensatory education is the set of programs sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity. These programs are designed to flank the school system and to reach children at the formative and critical ages when they tend to become alienated from school. They provide new ways of meeting the needs of preschool children (Project Head Start), secondary school youths who drop out of school (the Neighborhood Youth Corps and the Job Corps), and youths who have the potential but do not continue on to college (Project Upward Bound).

The purpose of compensatory education is to provide children from culturally disadvantaged home environments with the academic and motivational tools to succeed in school. Compensatory education can take the form of remedial instruction, through intensive attention to verbal and conceptual skills. It can also emphasize cultural enrichment and seek to widen the horizons, imagination, and vocabulary through directed field trips and play activities. Compensatory education also attempts to develop self-confidence and the ability to relate to others; to detect physical, mental, and nutritional difficulties; to discover particular aptitudes as well as weaknesses; and to give children chances to succeed.

The Culturally Disadvantaged Child

Compensatory education is aimed at the culturally disadvantaged child. Although children from disadvantaged backgrounds, like any other major

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* See U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, op. cit., p. 118-19.

subpopulation, exhibit a range of achievements and many overcome all handicaps, the frequency of high performance is generally less than for the majority culture. For the purposes of this discussion the disadvantaged child will be used as a modal descriptor to oversimplify this complex phenomenon.

Children from disadvantaged backgrounds or from culturally deprived homes tend to have different learning processes, different behavior, and different value systems from middle class children. Their environmental influences are usually not academically oriented and thus make it difficult for them to relate to the traditional educational system. The disadvantaged child's environment has been characterized by Martin Deutsch as one of "stimulus deprivation." In every area for which the advantaged child is prepared for learning and reading, the disadvantaged child has been deprived of the variety of stimuli to which he is maturationally capable of responding; he is, therefore, deficient in the equipment required for learning in traditional environments.*

The major academic deficiency of children from disadvantaged environments is in their development of verbal skills. Language is probably the most important factor in any intellectual activity, for language necessarily involves an adult-child interaction and corrective feedback from adults, resulting in the child acquiring a knowledge of the physical, geographic, and geometric characteristics of his environment. Children from middle class homes tend to be learning oriented. They learn to label objects correctly in their environments, they are encouraged to ask questions, and they learn to listen as conversation is directed to them. They are rewarded for tasks successfully completed, and gain confidence in this ability to perform.

According to Deutsch, the disadvantaged home is not verbally oriented. Studies have shown that disadvantaged children use shorter sentences, ask fewer questions, and have a more limited vocabulary and poorer articulation than advantaged children. Adults tend not to encourage the interaction of children with adults in conversation or encourage them to ask questions or to relate to their environments by learning the names of objects around them. Adults are not used as a source of information or as a means of correcting misconceptions. Children are not rewarded for performance, thus reducing motivation for beginning tasks and, therefore, reducing self-reinforcement of activity through the gaining of a feeling of competence.†

Related to the lack of verbal stimulation is auditory discrimination. Children from disadvantaged homes, being unable to relate to sounds and activities in their environments acquire a "trained inattention." Studies at the Institute for Developmental Studies at New York Medical College

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* See Martin Deutsch, "The Disadvantaged Child and the Learning Process," Education in Depressed Areas, A. Harry Passow, ed., Columbia Teachers College Press, New York, 1963, pp. 168-78.

† See Deutsch, op. cit., pp. 168-78.

have found significant differences in the auditory discrimination between lower class and middle class children in the first grade.*

Effects of Compensatory Education

It is too early to determine the long run effects of compensatory education. Some evaluations conducted in schools that are isolated by race and social class suggest that these programs have not had lasting effects in improving the achievement of the students. "The evidence indicates that Negro children attending desegregated schools that do not have compensatory education programs perform better than Negro children in racially isolated schools with such programs."†

Racially Balanced Schools

The second major method for narrowing the educational gap is through improved racial balance in the schools. In addition to home environment and preschool learning orientation, the school setting, including teachers, composition of classmates, and curricula, affects a child's chances of academic success. Racially segregated schools in disadvantaged areas often lack a stimulus for active learning and thus tend to reduce chances for success in school. Children are frustrated by early failures in the traditional school setting, and losing motivation, resign themselves to accepting low levels of achievement. In turn, teachers often resign themselves to expecting low levels of achievement, providing less rather than compensating mental stimulation; and school boards may tend to follow this level of expectation, resulting in less expenditures, fewer trained and experienced teachers, less adequate facilities, and weak curricula.

Racial Composition and Student Achievement

There have been some significant findings from the Office of Education's national Survey of Equality of Educational Opportunity that show positive effects resulting from integrated schools. Briefly, these findings show that favorable differentials in achievement and motivation of minority group students are associated with having classmates who are achievement oriented. Socioeconomic and racial composition of the classroom appears to account for a greater improvement in the average achievement of nonwhite students than facilities, curricula, or teachers.

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* See Deutsch, op. cit., pp. 168-78.

† See U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, op. cit., p. 205. This statement is based on results from the Banneker Project in St. Louis; the Higher Horizons Program in New York; and compensatory programs in Syracuse, N.Y., Berkeley, Calif., Seattle, Wash., and Philadelphia, Pa.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights believes that racial segregation in the schools tends to lower Negro students' achievement, restrict their aspirations, and impair their sense of being able to affect their own destiny. By contrast, Negro children in predominately white schools more often score higher on achievement tests, develop higher aspirations, and have a firmer sense of control over their own destinies.*

Socioeconomic background of classmates contributes, as does racial composition, to achievement levels of the students. Current research on school achievement, such as that of Prof. Alan B. Wilson of the University of California, shows improvement in the academic performance of slum children when they have schoolmates from middle class families. Professor Wilson, in his report to the California State Committee on Public Education, has said that research by the U.S. Office of Education and his own findings in a study of Richmond schools indicated that casual social encounters between pupils from mixed socioeconomic classes were not the reason disadvantaged children did better when placed in an integrated environment. He emphasized that the needed academic lift came from "an environment where both students and teachers had higher achievement standards, where the pace of instruction was faster and teachers were not burdened with behavior problems in class."†

Integrating poor Negroes with middle class Negroes might do as much good as integrating them with middle class whites, but as a practical matter there are not enough middle class Negroes to go around. A reason is that 40 percent of all white collar Negro families send their children to private schools.‡ For the foreseeable future, class integration will be impossible without racial integration as well.

Racial Balance and Quality of Education

Improved racial balance in the schools does not negatively affect quality of education in the schools. Even so, there is some concern that if quality is not maintained, the movement of higher socioeconomic group students to nonpublic and suburban schools may be accelerated by planned changes in racial and ethnic composition. The available evidence suggests that the academic performance of white students in desegregated classrooms generally does not suffer by comparison with the achievement of such students in all-white classrooms. Steps taken in communities that have desegregated their schools successfully have maintained or improved educational standards.§

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* See U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, op. cit., p. 114; based on analysis of Equality of Educational Opportunity.

† See Alan B. Wilson, Report to the California State Committee on Public Education, January 9, 1967.

‡ See Christopher Jencks, "Education: The Racial Gap," The New Republic, October 1, 1966.

§ See U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, op. cit., p. 206.

There is also evidence that nonacademic benefits accrue to white students who attend desegregated schools. The U.S. Office of Education Survey data show that white students who first attended integrated schools early in their school careers are likely to value their association with Negro students more than do students who attended school with Negroes starting later in grades.*

During 1959-60, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights sponsored two conferences on desegregation. Superintendents attended from school systems in 18 states and the District of Columbia. Eleven of them spoke to the question of whether desegregation had lowered academic standards in their systems; nine said no and two said yes. All noted the initial lag of Negro students, but most observed that special measures had invariably led to improvement.†

In 1958, Herbert W. Wey studied 70 school systems in various stages of desegregation; in 1963 two-thirds of these schools were restudied. Wey reports,

> In 1958 many teachers and principals felt that desegregation had necessitated a lowering of some standards . . . In 1963 only two out of forty respondents felt that the instructional program had been handicapped by the placement of Negroes in formerly all-white schools. Administrators and teachers stated over and over that they had a better instructional program now than they had before desegregation began.‡

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, after a detailed study of cities that have desegregated their schools successfully, concluded that factors contributing to this success include the exercise of strong leadership by state and local officials to help implement desegregation, the involvement of all schools in the community, the desegregation of classes within desegregated schools, steps to avoid the possibility of interracial friction, and the provision of remedial assistance to children who need it.§

The relationship between racial balance and the academic performance of Negro and white students is discussed more fully in Research Memorandum No. 4 of this series.

The Importance of Compensatory Education in Racially Balanced Schools

The principle of mixing students of different socioeconomic and racial backgrounds rests on the evidence that this mixing provides an equal

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* See Coleman, op. cit., p. 333.

† See Meyer Weinberg, Research on School Desegregation, Integrated Education Associates, January 9, 1967, p. 2.

‡ Weinberg, op. cit., p. 2.

§ See U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, op. cit., p. 206.

educational opportunity. In an heterogeneous atmosphere low achieving students tend to learn more, and the more academically oriented group does not suffer. The administrative arrangement of some schools, however, tends to produce segregation of ability groups within the school. Since achievement is related to socioeconomic background, the very group that will benefit most from the mixing is systematically isolated in slow classes or tracks.

Compensatory and remedial education provide a feasible and viable approach to reaching the goal that society and San Francisco have with regard to equality of educational opportunity. Attention to meeting the special needs of minority group children can improve achievement and motivation by concentrating on overcoming academic difficulties in small groups for a segment of the school day. Thus, compensatory education can provide the necessary tools that will permit all children to compete successfully in their regular integrated classes.

LEGAL BACKGROUND OF DE FACTO SEGREGATION

The Supreme Court's famous decision in the 1954 case of Brown vs Board of Education of Topeka established the basic principle that "racial discrimination in public education" is contrary to the "equal protection" clause of the 14th Amendment, and, therefore, the states are prohibited "from maintaining racially segregated public schools." The basis of the ruling was the decision that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." To separate children of different academic and motivational backgrounds only reinforces the cultural differential:

> Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures of education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principle instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.*

The court's decision did not attempt to distinguish between de jure segregation and de facto segregation. Rather, the decision used the unmodified term "segregation." The Supreme Court has not yet handed down a clear decision on the legal status of de facto segregation, although de facto segregation has similar drawbacks to enforced segregation. Numerous federal court decisions on various aspects of de facto segregation are summarized in Appendix A of Phase I of the interim report.† On the fundamental question, "Is a local board required, i.e., does it have an affirmative constitutional duty, to take the necessary action to correct de facto segregation or racial imbalance in its schools?," the answer is either "Yes" or "No" depending upon which federal court is speaking. It is hoped that eventually this uncertainty will be removed and the issue clarified by a U.S. Supreme Court ruling on the question. For the present, though, we can only be guided by what the lower Federal Courts have said on the matter, and they are not in agreement.

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* See Brown vs Board of Education of Topeka, 347 U.S.438, May 1954.

† See Overview of Approaches to Desegregation in Northern and Western Cities, Racial Balance in the S.F. Unified School District - Phase 1, Interim Report, Stanford Research Institute, July 1966.

A case which did not get to the federal courts is of particular interest to school administrators in California. On June 27, 1963, the Supreme Court of the State of California filed its opinion in the case of Jackson vs Pasadena City School District. In this decision the court stated that:

> Residential segregation is in itself an evil. . . . Where such segregation exists it is not enough for a school board to refrain from affirmative discriminatory conduct. . . . The right to an equal opportunity for education and the harmful consequences of segregation require that school boards take steps, insofar as reasonably feasible, to alleviate racial imbalance in schools regardless of its cause.*

Also, the McAteer Act of 1965, which governs all compensatory education activities in California, and therefore all programs for disadvantaged children, since in California all such programs are administered under the Division of Compensatory Education, contains the following key section:

> Nothing in this chapter shall be construed to sanction, perpetrate, or promote the racial or ethnic segregation of pupils in the public schools.†

Aside from court decisions, legal implications for de facto segregation can be seen in actions by certain state governments. The California State Board of Education adopted policies and resolutions on February 15, 1963, that subsequently require the governing board of each school district to take steps to lessen the impact of de facto segregation when establishing attendance areas and acquiring school sites. The Board resolved that:

> It is the declared policy of the State Board of Education that persons or agencies responsible for the establishment of school attendance centers or the assignment of pupils thereto shall exert all effort to avoid and eliminate segregation of children on account of race or color.‡

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* See Jackson vs Pasadena School District, California Administrative Code, Title 5, Chapter I, Subchapter 8, Article 5, effective Nov. 22, 1962.

† See McAteer Act of 1965, Special Compensatory Educational Programs for Disadvantaged Children, Education Code, Chapter 65, Section 6450-6474 and Chapter 5, Sections 551-558.

‡ See Max Rafferty, California Laws and Policies Relating to Equal Opportunities in Education, California State Department of Education, Sacramento, 1966, p. 2.